

WORTHINGTON - SPEECH BALTIMORE 1810





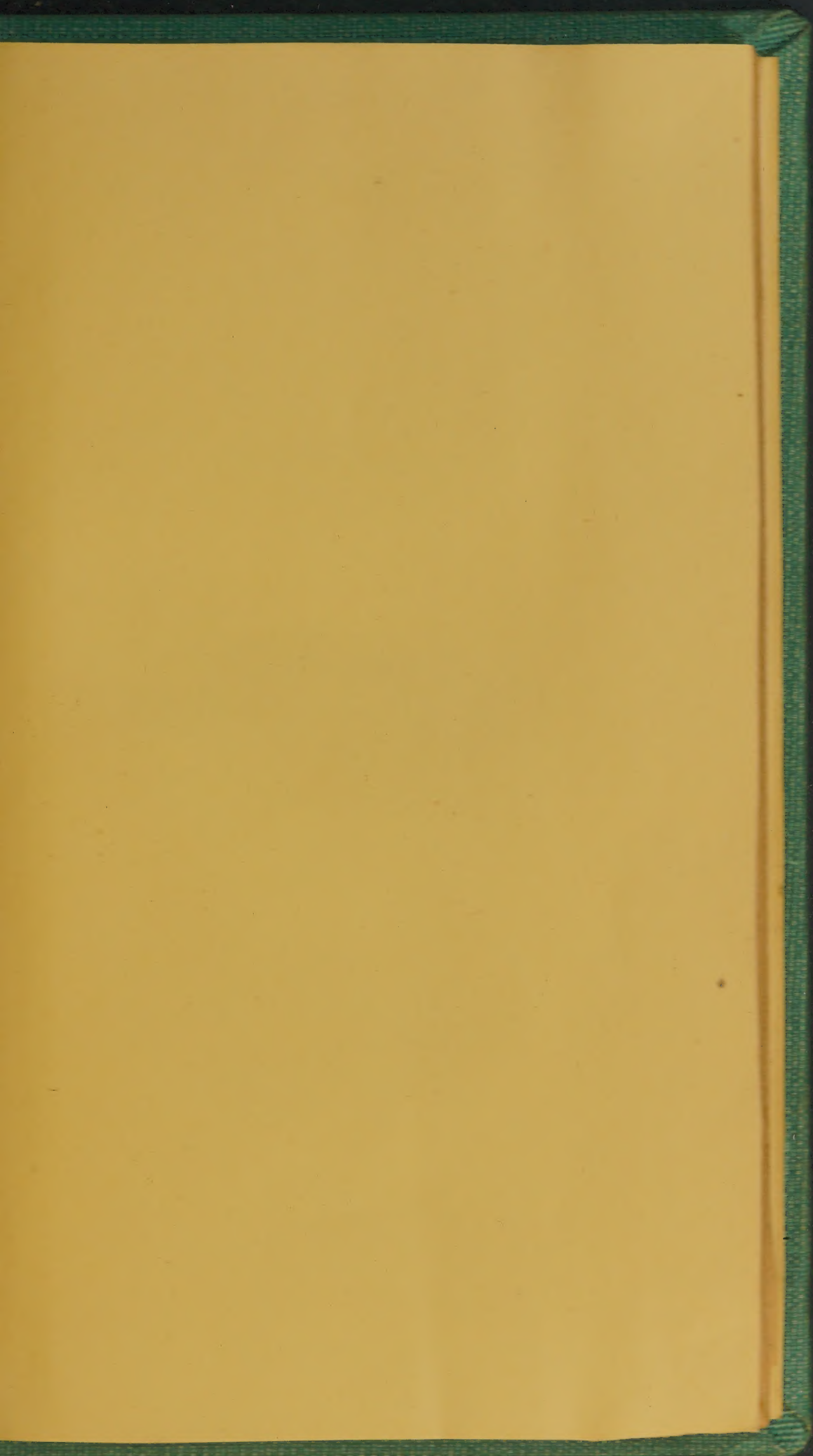


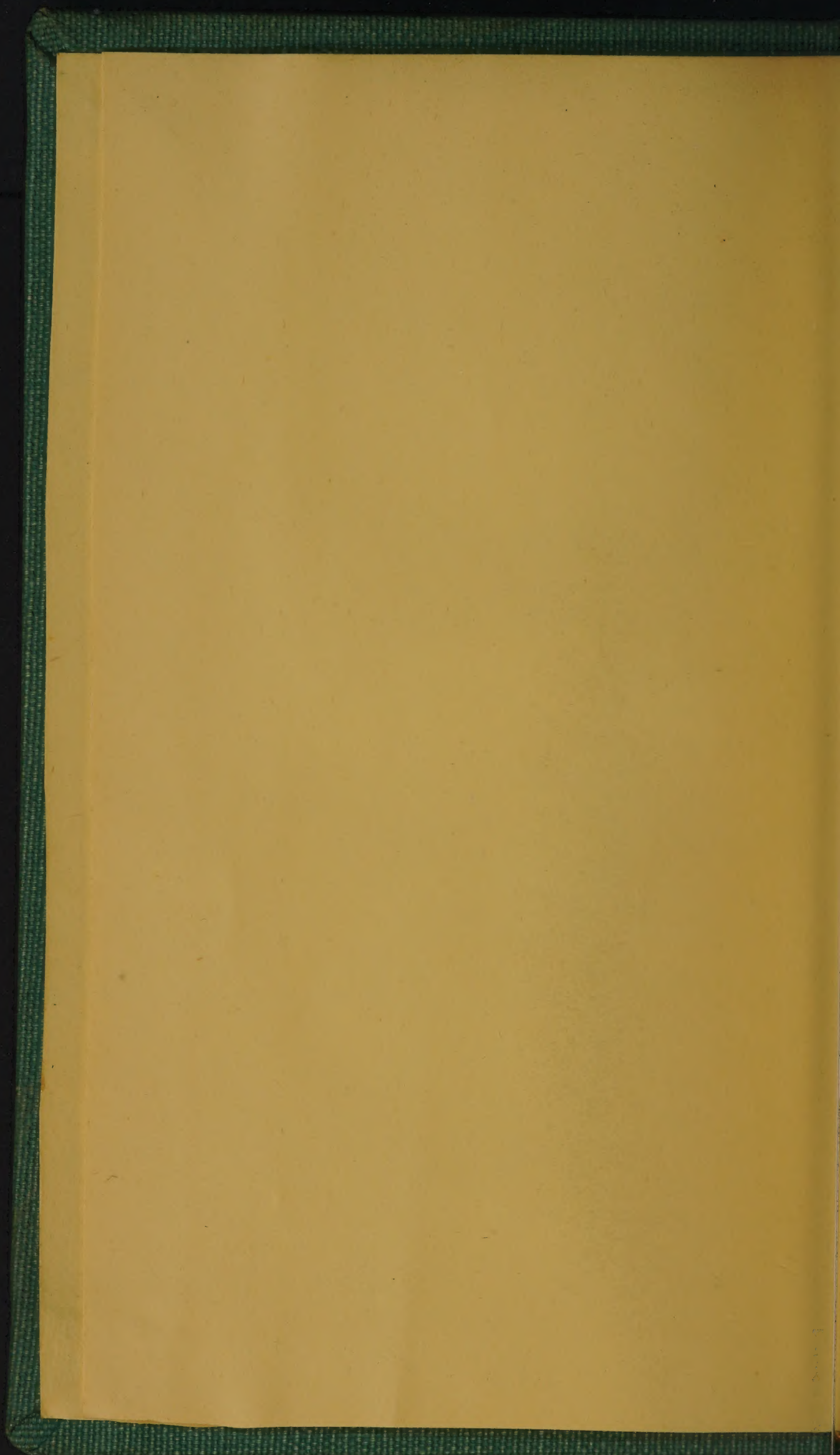
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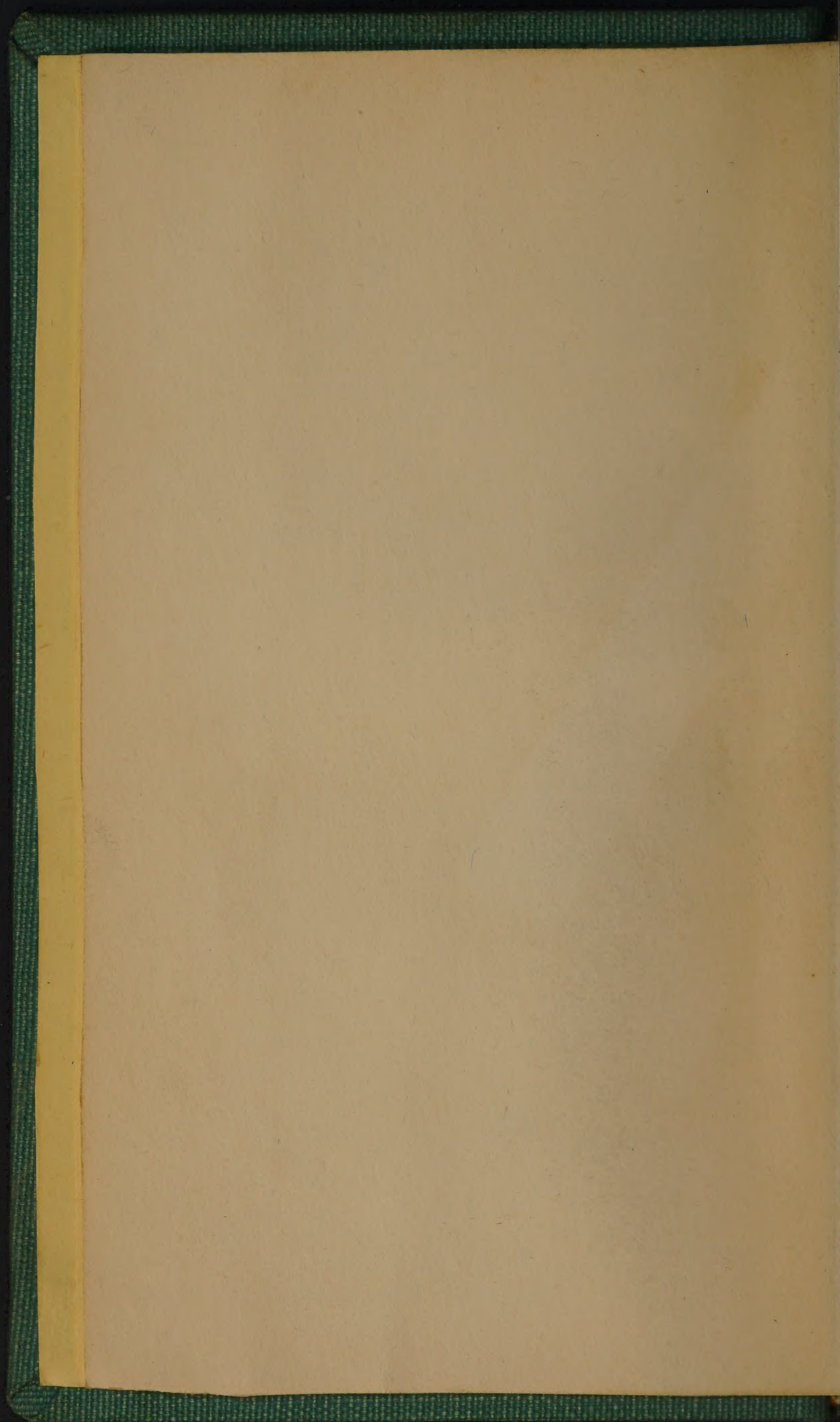
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S P E E C H
O F
W. G. D. WORTHINGTON, Esq. ✓
A MEMBER OF THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
O F
M A R Y L A N D.
O N E O F T H E D E L E G A T E S
O F
T H E C I T Y O F B A L T I M O R E,
O N
B R E N T ' S R E S O L U T I O N S ,
A P P R O B A T O R Y O F T H E
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O F T H E
G O V E R N M E N T O F T H E U . S .

*Taken in short-hand by the Stenographer of the
House of Delegates.*

* * * * * Hapliy to steer
From gay to grave, from gentle to severe.
Correct with spirit, eloquent with ease,
Intent to reason, or polite to please!

B A L T I M O R E :
P R I N T E D B Y H E Z E K I A H N I L E S , A T T H E O F F I C E
O F T H E E V E N I N G P O S T . 1 8 1 0 .

District of Maryland, to wit :

BE it remembered, That on this twenty-third day of January in the thirty-fourth Year of the Independence of the United States, Hezekiah Niles, of the said District, hath deposited in this office, the title of a Book, the right whereof, he claims as proprietor, in the words following, to wit : "*Speech of W. G. D. Worthington, Esqr. a member of the General Assembly of Maryland, one of the Delegates of the City of Baltimore, on Brent's Resolutions, approbatory of the measures of the late and present Administration of the Government of the U. S.*"

Taken in short hand by the Stenographer to the House of Delegates.

* * * * * Happily to start
From gay to grave—from gentle to severe ;
Correct with spirit—eloquent with ease,
Intent to reason—or polite to please."

In conformity to the Act of Congress of the United States, entitled "an Act for the encouragement of learning by securing the copies of Maps, Charts and Books to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned"—and also to an Act, entitled "an Act supplementary to an act entitled an act for the encouragement of Learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the Benefit thereof to the Arts of Designing, Engraving and Etching Historical and other Prints."

PHILIP MOORE,
Clerk of the District of Maryland.

Mr. Worthington's Speech.

PREFATORY.

In order to apprise the reader of the motives which drew forth the following observations from the easy, eloquent, conclusive and industrious member from Baltimore, it is essentially necessary to inform him, that, on Thursday 13th Nov. the following Resolutions, reported by Mr. BRENT, a member from Washington county, to the Legislature of the state of Maryland, were taken up as the order of the day :

BRENT's RESOLUTIONS.

WHEREAS certain resolutions were entered into by the "house of delegates" of the general assembly of Maryland, at the last November session, the object of which was to impress a belief upon the public mind, that the citizens of the state of Maryland viewed the act passed by congress "imposing an embargo, and the several acts supplementary thereto, as constituting a portentous system of unnecessary, impolitic and unprecedented restraint upon foreign trade and domestic intercourse of these United States; and also directing "the senators and representatives in this state, in the congress of the United States, to exert themselves with all convenient diligence in endeavors to procure a speedy relief from the operation of the aforesaid act, and the several acts supplementary thereto:" And *whereas* "the public will" has been lately expressed by "the public voice itself" in the election for the immediate representative branch of this legislature, so as to leave no doubt, what the

real, true and unveiled sentiments of the people are, relative to that important and politic measure of our government, so far as their sentiments at this time can be ascertained by their supporting a policy of a similar nature, and by their electing, as members of this body, men who were the warm advocates and active friends of every leading measure of the late administration: And *whereas* the late "public voice" has shewn, conclusively, to every unprejudiced and impartial mind, that the success so much boasted of, in the said resolutions, by the majority of the late "house of delegates," must have proceeded from the many misrepresentations and deceptions made and used to deceive and ensnare the unguarded voter, and not from any real change in the political tenets of the state: And *whereas* to correct and counteract the false impressions which may have been made upon the public mind by the proceedings of the majority in the "house of delegates," at their last November session, touching a measure so extensively interesting to the whole American people, and in order to remove the unfavorable opinion of the politics of this state, which the false coloring of the majority in the last "house of delegates" may have created in our sister states, it is a duty which the members of the present assembly owe to their country, their constituents and themselves, to express a true and solemn declaration of their sentiments, as to the measures of the late and present administration of the general government, to set forth those feelings of unqualified disapprobation which the said resolutions have excited—Therefore

Resolved, That it is the conscientious belief, and unbiassed conviction of this legislature, representing the interests and speaking the sentiments of the Independent Freemen of Maryland, that the aforesaid act imposing an embargo, and the several acts supplementary thereto, were *wise, efficient and dignified* measures, rendered indispensably necessary, by the unjust and illegal proceedings of the belligerents of Europe, and the convulsed and unprecedented state of the world, as the only advisable alternatives between a destructive and calami-

tous war, and the humiliating surrender of our National Honor and Independence ; that the many evils which were stated to have flown from the adoption of the said embargo, and the gloomy picture of its consequences, pourtrayed by the aforesaid resolutions, were contrary to the good opinion, and to the general sentiments of a large majority of the free and independent voters of this state ; that so far from proscribing and spiriting away " the existence of commercial enterprise," it must be obvious to every reflecting and dispassionate mind, that the object of our government was to secure it *ultimately* to the citizens of the United States, by contending for principles, and demanding acknowledgements of those just rights, without which our commerce will always be precarious and exposed ; that the very policy, so much censured, protected and promoted the interests of our country, by withdrawing from rapacious and piratical plunderers of the ocean, our property, to an immense and incalculable amount, by rescuing from seizure & bondage our " brave and hardy tars," by diverting a portion of our wealth and attention to the establishment of those manufactures, which are necessary to our subsistence, essential to our independence, and which have in the short lapse of two years, succeeded to an extent surpassing the most sanguine calculations of the many honest, ingenious and industrious mechanics, with which the United States abound ; that the " jealousies" and " discontent, distrust, suspicion and alarm," and the violation of the " sovereignty of the laws," may with more correctness be attributed to the opponents of the late administration, who have united into one body, and particularly to their leaders, who by their feigned and uniform disapprobation of every measure pursued by the late administration, however wise and virtuous, have shewn and evinced a determination not to " sheath the sword of opposition" until it had reached its destruction & overthrow, & that their opposition has been aided by the specious misrepresentations & insidious exertions of the friends of the great belligerents of Europe, and by the conduct of artful and designing men, who seek their own aggran-

dizement through the distresses of their fellow-citizens and the commotions of their native country ; that the insolent boastings of the British ministry originated not so much from a disregard of the operation of the embargo, as from a confident hope of its speedy removal, and a desire to promote the success, to further their views, and to verify the predictions of that party in this country, which it conceived most compliant to its wishes, and most friendly to its interests ; that the adoption of the said resolutions by a majority of the late " house of delegates" may have had the most injurious tendency ; that it is feared, by some unfortunate concurrence of circumstances, (which the great wisdom of the majority of the late " house of delegates" might not have foreseen,) they have gone in aid of the system of measures adopted by both England and France, and particularly England, to embarrass the government of our country, and to effect its downfall and humiliation, for they were entered into and passed the house of delegates at the very moment when the system of measures, if they could succeed, would have had their effect ; that as serious and as awful as the declaration is, it is our firm belief our differences with the two great belligerents might have been settled long before this, had it not been for the opposition made to the great leading measures of our government by " a party within ourselves ;" that the late treacherous and dishonorable conduct from the part of one of the great and powerful nations of Europe, in disavowing the acts of her ministers with the government of our own country, must have been instigated in part by the differences existing among our citizens, and from a hope that she might find friends in our national councils, or by the many resolutions which have been entered into by the opponents to the late administration of the general government, similar to and advancing the same sentiments contained in the resolutions adopted by a majority of the late " house of delegates" at the last November session ; the effects the most beneficial have followed the adoption of the embargo, and they have not failed to attract the just appreciation of a

vast majority of the patriotic people of these United States ; that unfortunately for our common country, the blessings of that policy have not been discovered, or if discovered, not approved of by that fraction of the people styling themselves by a particular party appellation, and whose sentiments the majority of the late "house of delegates" largely partook ; and that this legislature are of the opinion that the said resolutions are founded *totally* in error, and contrary to the fact.

Resolved, That we highly approve of the measure adopted, and the policy pursued by the late administration.

Resolved, That we have the fullest confidence in the patriotism, virtue and wisdom, of the present administration, and that we freely pledge our support to the general government, upon the adoption of any measures calculated to protect the rights or avenge the wrongs of our country.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, of Frederick, suggested many amendments and alterations, which met Mr. Brent's decided opposition ; when a desultory debate ensued : Mess'rs. C. Dorsey and Chapman, of Charles, T. Baily, of Somerset, and Herbert, of P. George's, in support of the federal motions—and Mess'rs. J. E. Spencer, of Queen Ann's, Archer, of Harford, and Boyle, of Annapolis, against them.

On a motion of Mr. J. H. Thomas, on the second resolution, a very severe, sarcastic and personal debate took place, between the mover and Mr. Brent—after which the House adjourned.

On the morning of Friday, 1st. Dec. Mr. Herbert delivered a speech of an hour on the first and second resolutions. Mr. Archer pursued him in a speech of about the same length—he was replied to by Mr. Bailey, who was followed by Mr. C. Dorsey, in a three hours and an half harangue ; after which the house adjourned.

Saturday morning following, Mr. Tabbs, of Washington county, opened the debate by a very animated, yet sarcastic, a witty, though argumentative and conclusive reply to Mr. Dorsey. Mr.

J. E. Spencer followed him, by a forcible and persuasive speech of upwards of two hours, replete with cool and ingenuous argument, supported by incontestible authorities, to prove the measures of administration to have been wise and correct. That day's debate was concluded by Mr. J. H. Thomas, in a speech of two and an half hours, the acumen of which did honor, at least, to his talents as a partizan orator.

At about half past eleven, on Monday the 4th, Mr. Brent delivered a most eloquent and spirited reply, wherein this promising young legislator displayed very extraordinary powers of elocution—a deep and penetrating mind—a bold and forcible imagery—a fancy active and playful—a stretch of idea which, seemed to soar extra flammantia moenia mundi. His address continued until after two o'clock. Immediately after which,

Mr. Worthington rose ; but a motion for adjournment taking place, the debate was discontinued until three o'clock. At which time Mr. Worthington commenced the following speech, which occupied him until after six ; when Dr. Parnham of Charles, and Mr. C. Dorsey, followed him until past twelve o'clock, and then the final question was taken on the whole of the resolutions, and carried.

If an apology is necessary for any imperfections in this speech, the fault rests on my inexperience and inability. In the ardor of debate it is possible that gentlemen may often say things which afterwards they may have wished had escaped the attention of the stenographer ; who, in his turn, may often misconceive the intentional meaning of the speaker.

At any rate, the reporter of this speech has endeavored to do Mr. W. justice, without favor or partiality. If he has succeeded—so much the better—if not, there is no help for it now.

SPEECH OF
W. G. D. WORTHINGTON, Esq.

Mr. Speaker,

I RISE, in reply to *all* the gentlemen who have preceded me in the opposition ; I shall commence with them from the first day's debate, and reply to them alternately as they made their appearance on the stage of this political drama.—Many gentlemen have gone before me, in support of my opinions, and have amply answered the federal gentlemen, which will induce me to abridge the replies I had contemplated, to the *volume* of notes which I have taken, as I shall endeavor to avoid recapitulating any arguments already advanced.—In my reply to the gentlemen of the opposition, I shall be obliged to wade through a multiplicity of topics—but, if I am tedious and excursive it must be attributed in part to them, as I am determined to pursue them through all their windings, I shall, without any further preliminary remarks open the assault.

The first in the *Dramatis Personæ*, appears to be the honorable gentleman from Frederick (Mr. J.H. Thomas) who has observed, “it is impossible, at this time, to say that the opinions of the people of Maryland, respecting the embargo policy, are expressed by the late elections”—What, sir ! is not the election of Mr. Madison, and all the great public functionaries, and the large majority in Congress, who were the warm advocates of that measure, an expression of the public opinion ? Is not the election of the majority of this house ; who always have been, and still are advocates of the measure, an exhibition of the opinions of the people ? I can think of no other more emphatic mode of approbation ! The gentleman has said, that “at the election anterior to the late one, the question turned alone on the embargo”—but he is mistaken.—The militia law—the gun-tax in particular, and other questions, not whether the embargo was right or wrong, influenced that election, and returned a

federal majority to this house. Says the gentleman, "last fall the embargo was carefully kept out of view, a pall was thrown over its corpse, except when the party were willing to commit the cause with the fate of their Senator"—Who kept the embargo out of view?—Who connected our cause with that of the Senator?—Why, the federal party! they were afraid of contending on principle, & obliged us to turn the contest upon the private & political conduct of an individual, and that too, after they had said *he was a mill-stone around the neck of democracy, and would carry the party to the bottom!* Oh! what false and visionary soothsayers—endowed with all the madness, without any of the truth of prediction!

But, says the gentleman, "the party furnished themselves with a fire-brand in the church bill," I believe sir, this bill, so much talked about, had rather a personal than a general political effect—for we see some men returned here on the side of democracy, who voted for it, and other democrats left out, who also voted for it. This subject has been ably answered by gentlemen who preceded me—and sir, it is my opinion, that had there never have been a church bill passed at the last session, still we should have had as large a majority as we now see here—we should at least have had a *majority*, and that is sufficient to determine the political opinion of the state, if *fairly obtained!*

Next comes the gentleman from Somerset, (*Mr. T. Bailey*) he asks, "what produced the embargo—is it a municipal regulation, or a hostile and coercive measure?" I will tell the gentleman, the British orders in council produced the embargo—those orders, the most daring and desperate outrage ever committed on the commercial rights of neutrals. It was a municipal regulation so far as it respected our own citizens, and the right of laying it—and it is a coercive measure, so far as it operates in its consequences and effects upon the belligerents of Europe. But, says the gentleman (exultingly too!) "if it were a *wise, dignified and efficient measure*, why was it not continued." Let me ask the gentleman in turn, if a measure may

not, when it is adopted, be *wise, dignified*, and, to a degree, *efficient*, and yet, afterwards, be relinquished?—But, sir, I do not approve of its having been relinquished—and I have, in this disapprobation, the honor of thinking with very many of that party to whom I am attached—but, perhaps, the true reason is, *there was not virtue enough brought into action, by the community to give it that efficient purport which the nature of the measure required.*

The gentleman from Prince George's (*Mr. Herbert*) says "the conduct of the belligerents was not the cause of the embargo—not a French national ship burned on our coast, not the attack on the Chesapeake, but, as we say, the French decrees and British orders in council." Sir, all these outrageous violations on our honor and neutrality may have had a remote causation, in determining the tone of our government; but the proximate cause, as I have before stated, was the orders in council. The gentleman goes on to say, "the non-intercourse is not a policy similar to that of the embargo"—Why, sir, I assert it to be as *similar* as any two systems of measures, not absolutely the same, can be. An embargo is a *general* non-intercourse; and a non-intercourse, may be termed a *special* embargo, *quo ad* its extension. And this embargo, as the gentleman has well said, was to secure our seamen, ships and property—it did so—as far as could have been expected.

We hear the gentleman talking about the expence of laying up our ships—was it less expensive to have our own vessels in our own ports, than to have permitted them to go out, and had them *laid up* in the ports of England. No, sir, half a loaf is better than no bread, even upon the contemptible score of pecuniary calculation.

The gentleman proceeds to say "we lost all our seamen—we could not lock them up, for we have no bastiles." And, sir, I trust in God we never shall have any—for I would much rather see them walking our streets free and at large, or turning mechanics or agricultural laborers, as many of them did, than to hear of their fighting the battles of En-

gland, or of their groaning in her prisons, dragging out a miserable existence, trebly embittered by the scoffs and contempt of their country's most unforgiving and unjust enemies. What, sir, are the miseries attendant on a temporary deprivation of the luxuries, or even of some of the actual necessities of life, compared with the loss of our freedom, and the gloomy horrors of a British dungeon, where the iron hearted jailor, to gratify the vindictive malignity of his employers, heaps insult upon injury, until the unfortunate victim exhausts the cup of humiliation to its utmost dreg, and still retains none other than the heart rending reflection that he is an American, born *free*, and inhumanly and forcibly deprived of his birth right.

The gentleman, tells us something about a 'monopoly from the southward to the eastward.' Does he mean a *political* monopoly? I presume he does. Then shew me one case wherein federal, as well as democratic governors were not equally invested with the powers to grant licenses,* in the cases to which he alludes? None can be shewn—then, let me ask, how can it be called a monopoly? We are then told that "the embargo had a tendency to demoralize the nation." As this remark, Mr. Speaker, has been reiterated by other gentlemen, and appears of some importance to them—permit me here to answer *all* that has been said on it. I say, it does not tend to vitiate the community more than any other law. If a law be passed against robbery, would such a law have a tendency to demoralize the nation, because some bad citizens may violate its restrictions by committing robbery? Why, sir, every human and divine law, according to this reasoning, instead of a tendency to reform and make good men, must have a direct tendency, to corrupt them and make them bad—Yes, sir, the decalogue itself, which says 'thou shalt not steal,' would, upon the position which that gentleman has taken—tend to immorality, by making men thieves.

* An allusion to powers invested by the United States' executive to the governors of the different states for granting licences during the existence of the embargo, to transport provisions from one state to the other. *Rep.*

Lastly, the gentleman says, "we may attribute the success of our election to the failure of our national arrangement with Mr. Erskine"—no doubt this had some effect; but it so happened, somehow or another, that the political preponderancy was decided in our favor, before that affair took wind!

Mr. Speaker, having followed that gentleman thus far, I feel somewhat relieved in seeing that the next character who rises up, in review on my notes, is the gentleman from Frederick, (*J. H. Thomas.*) He says, that "in adopting these resolutions we shall throw a stigma on his worthy friends† on his right, who fought and bled in the defence of their country"—and, by a most eloquent and *thrilling* appeal to the sensibilities of this House, attempts to make us appear as calumniators and enemies to the soldier and patriot of '76. Does that gentleman pretend to say the revolutionary patriot is alone on his side in politics? Sir, we have some of the best blood of the revolution enlisted with us. My eyes beam with pleasure at seeing some gentlemen on this floor, who bore the toils and honors of those dangerous times, now the supporters of the present administration!—Where, sir, is the hero of Bennington, the venerable Stark, whose grey hairs are obscured by the laurels which enshrine his brows—with a whole host of worthies too tedious to enumerate—all those brave and discerning heroes, who established our independence in *times*, correctly and emphatically declared to have *tried men's souls*. Where are the few, their survivors, whom the insatiable hand of death has not yet resigned to the cold recesses of the grave—are *THEY* on the side of federalism? How long is it that this gentleman's sympathies have been so feelingly alive to the reputation of revolutionary worth? Does the gentleman forget that SAMUEL SMITH deserved well of his country—and yet what stratagem and artifice were not used to despoil him of every laurel—to strip him of every virtue? Was not the private recesses of his count-

† Gen. *Winder* and gen. *Gale*, of Somerset, and major *Chapman* and col. *Stewart*, of Charles county. *Rep.*

ing room, and almost the secret meditations of his pillow, violated in order to destroy his good name—In fine, sir, from what corner of federalism were not the shafts of calumny levelled against him? And how would that gentleman have rejoiced to see his honor bleeding at every pore?—What, sir, we the villifiers and traducers of revolutionary worth!—we desirous of blasting the hard-earned laurels of those heroes whose lacerated feet encrimsoned the frozen paths from Trenton—and in this hall too, under the very eyes of that sainted savior† of his country—who HERE, after all his military services, sheathed his victorious sword in the scabbard of peace, and placed it beneath the constitution and the laws not to be again drawn unless at the call of the insulted liberty of his country!—In THIS Hall, all around us ornamented with precious mementos of the glorious battles of our revolution, and of the brave and Spartan deaths of our heroes—In *such* a place, sir—Heaven forbid such unfounded suspicions; such gross impiety.

In common with many of my fellow-citizens, I cannot but deeply regret that we have seen some men who fought for the liberties of this Republic, turning their swords against it. I still am willing to hold every man who was for his country in the time of trial, however he may now differ from me in political sentiments, to be one of the friends of the republic and the constitution, unless he shall be convicted of hostility to liberty and law, in the most indisputable manner. We have found, sir, that EVERY man who fought in the revolution, is not, now-a-days, nor was he formerly, a *patriot*. Arnold braved danger in the 'imminent deadly breach' at Quebec; and Blount and Burr lately headed rebellion—yet these were revolutionary soldiers. The truth is, many men engaged on the side of freedom, in the army of '76, because, perhaps, they were compelled to it, from imperious circumstances—and many because they did not think that we

†Here Mr. W. pointed to an elegant picture of general Washington, by Peale, suspended over the fire place of the delegates room. Rep.

should be ultimately severed from Great Britain, and become a republic. The result has since proved that such men never were pure patriots and genuine friends of republicanism.—I do not, sir, by these remarks, intend to touch the feelings of any man who does not acknowledge their justice, and feels that he deserves a more pointed and severe reprehension.

Mr. *Speaker*, In this part of the debate there arose some personal contentions § between gentleman of opposite opinions—this is an evil much to be deplored, as it, in a manner, lessens the dignity of legislation. It is to be supposed that every gentleman, without saying so, is, as a man of honor responsible for whatever he may say or do, in any character or capacity. Decorum and politeness should always prevail, but most especially in legislative controversies. I, sir, have taken the minutes of the personalities alluded to, and shall have that part of the discussion obliterated.

Sir—I will now resume my reply—and I find the gentleman from Prince George's again enters. After deploring the present critical and alarming situation of the country, he commences his catalogue of grievances against the late administration, by adducing, as the first cause of complaint, that "men, not native Americans have been put into office"—and continues to say, "they have certain prejudices of education, and love for the place of their nativity, of which they can never divest themselves." An allusion to the secretary of the treasury is here plainly seen, but, does not the gentleman here recollect that Gen. Hamilton, who once

§ The speaker here alludes to a tart *sparring* which took place on the first day of debate. Mr. *J. H. Thomas* in reply to Mr. *Brent*, mentioned "another *tribunal* in which he could defend the rectitude of his sentiments." Mr. *B.* replied, "that there was a certain *tribunal* from which some gentlemen had meanly shrunk. For his part, he expected to meet gentlemen here, at the tribunal of argument, but he was willing to meet any man at any other *tribunal*, but the member from Frederick was surrounded by an atmosphere which no gentleman could approach."

[REP.]

filled the same station, was a foreigner—was a native of St. Croix—we never heard any complaint then! The next is, “an intolerent persecuting spirit against persons who held offices—contrary to the spirit with which Mr. Jefferson commenced his presidential duties.” This charge, sir, can only exist in the fevered and inflamed brain of political exasperation—for few, very few, have been turned out of office—but many have been retained, although political enemies of Mr. Jefferson!—and the same benign and liberal spirit with which he entered into office, supported and influenced him through his long and arduous public labors. It is not, sir, necessary to descend into minute calculations on this charge. The gentleman then takes up the Louisiana purchase, and leads us through a detail of French and Spanish claims, disputes & titles, as meandering as the Mississippi itself! altho’ he is pleased that we have, by the purchase of New-Orleans, an out-let for the produce and wealth of the western people—yet, fears that Spain will, one day or another retake that country. I do not indulge in any such gloomy reveries; and I shall not take up time by answering all the objections the gentleman has made—I feel relieved from answering him on this subject at all—as my worthy friend from Harford (Mr. *Archer*) has completely refuted all that gentleman advanced on this point.

And here, sir, let me indulge in the pleasing remark, that my young friend just mentioned, from the promise he has given us, in his speech on this subject, in my humble judgment, bids fair to be an ornament to this state. The gentleman from Prince Georges’ continues to complain that “our foreign relations have been a subject of mystery—that the doors of Congress at different periods, during Mr. Jefferson’s administration were oftener closed than ever those of the British Parliament were, and for a much longer time.” Why, sir, we have never heard of any ill resulting from this, except for a short time depriving political *quid nuncs* of gratifying their itch for hearing news from abroad as soon as the functionaries of the nation, whom it behoves to hear it! What harm has happened on

this account? Will any one say it was unnecessary to close doors? It was done in the time of Gen. Washington—Admit the principle at all, and you must then leave it to the good sense and virtue of the Executive, and of Congress to determine how often it is necessary.

But, says the gentleman, “our situation as it regards foreign relations, arises from our differences with Great Britain concerning the impressment of seamen, and is surprised the administration have not viewed the subject differently—for as we were once a colony of G. Britain, it is impossible to tell the difference between our sailors and theirs.”—Then, sir, it is more necessary, that our flag should be conclusive evidence of citizenship—and he who sails under it, and claims to be an American, should be considered as such. The gentleman goes on to say, “in times of peace I have no objections to employing citizens not native Americans—in time of war I would employ none but native citizens.” What, sir, when a man is naturalized according to our laws, and is assured that he can enjoy all the rights and benefits of our country—except, being eligible, perhaps, to one office in the government—altho’ he wishes to enter into the service of his adopted country, he is, then, to be told,—we cannot employ you; you are not a native citizen!—I do here, most positively differ from the gentleman.

Munroe’s treaty is next brought on the carpet—“By that instrument,” says he, “we had a direct trade, and also the colonial carrying trade; nay, that almost all trade was secured to us.” As this argument was also advanced by other gentlemen on the other side, permit me to answer, that we had only a direct trade to England, when we had heretofore been accustomed to the trade of all the continent of Europe also—and as to the colonial trade, by the treaty our government was to lay an excise or tax of perhaps four or five per cent. on the adventuring merchant, which would reduce his profits to a par with the British adventurers. Moreover, the treaty was rejected because our seamen were not provided for; and, sir, this alone was suf-

ficient cause. Gentlemen, however, insist that the President should have laid it before the senate—Pray what for—to run the country to expence? for he had said he never could sign it, and without his signature it could not become a treaty. As to the embargo issuing out of the rejection of the treaty, I look upon the assertion as wild conjecture; and the assertions respecting the West India Islands, appear to prove nothing—having scarcely any bearing on the subjects of discussion. The gentleman tells us “the embargo was as permanent as the legislature could make it;”—“although the Eastern people particularly, who enjoy commerce as a natural right, at the adoption of the constitution never thought of parting with that right.”—If this reason be correct, how easy was it for the framers of the constitution to have limited the ultimate duration of our embargo? No, sir, in this, as in all other rights, the Eastern people enjoy no more, by nature, than our middle or Southern citizens. Having exhausted a great portion of time, I will now take my leave of the gentleman from Prince Georges.

Mr. *Speaker*. The gentleman from Somerset, [Mr. *T. Bailey*] for the second and last time, appears upon the canvass—and as this gentleman has a homespun, plain, common-sense way of arguing, I shall pay particular respect to him: for he may, from his manner, and apparent simplicity alone, have some weight with the people in what he says. First of all he launches out against these resolutions “because he is not in favor of addresses, they savor of sycophancy.” If, sir, to approve of the measures of the late administration, by a simple resolution to that effect be a *sycophantic* address—then are we sycophants. But I am in favor of these resolutions, because *they are not addresses*—they are the manly opinions of the representatives of the people—not the fulsome flattery of the few. We are next told, by the gentleman, that, “had it not been for the *redeeming spirit*, the spirit of remonstrance, which caused the embargo law to be repealed, we should now have to deplore a civil war.”—Whether the gentleman borrowed this *re-*

redeeming idea from the bible, or, at the moment, some misapplied and half remembered apostrophe of Mr. Curran's flitted through his brain, is not very material to be known! But it was not that "redeeming spirit" of the constitution, which walks with the honest and patriotic sufferer, thro' the flames of party opposition, of violence, and discord, and preserves the sufferer unhurt from the conflagration. Why, sir, who and what was it which like to have produced a civil war?—the opponents to the administration, and the resistance to, and violation of the laws! And does this gentleman speak calmly, and rather smilingly on this subject?—Gracious God! when the dæmon of civil war, had bared the bloody arm—and already seemed to stalk through the land of peace and freedom—when brother, armed against brother, and the son stood at bayonet with the grey-headed father in the dreadful conflict; when the mad & dishevelled daughter—the mute and speechless wife, and the weeping and wailing mother are wrapped in all the agony of diversified distress!—When pity, with her blood frozen to ice, and her eyes turned to horn, sit petrified amidst carnage and horror! and some Eastern Pompey and some Southern Cæsar, goaded by the scorpions of ambition, contend against the liberty of their country on some American Pharsalia, for the empire of the new world; when scenes like these were to be conjured up, and to be acted too—is this to be called in political modesty "the redeeming spirit of remonstrance?" and yet the gentleman goes on further to say "even a slave under the emperor of Constantinople would have rebelled."

[Here the gentleman from Somerset interrupted Mr. W. by explaining his meaning in the use of that expression.]

Mr. W. proceeded.—I am aware, sir, in the ardor of debate, gentlemen may say things which they do not mean. I hope such has been the case in this present instance.

The gentleman, sir, accuses Mr. Jefferson of deviating from his professions, that he said, in appointment to office he would only enquire, "is he

capable ; is he honest." There is a great difference, Mr. Speaker, between moral and political honesty. A man may be a moral character, and to the full, in social respects HONEST—and yet be a bad, very bad politician—he cannot be POLITICALLY honest, without also being a morally honest man—there's the difference. For no man, whatever may be his professions of republicanism, unless he be a good member of social society, cannot be a good one of political. A bad husband, father, or son, cannot be a good republican—he may appear good—but let his interest or his passions come in competition with his political tenets, and they will melt into air, or are as pliant as a wire of lead.

As some further remarks of this gentleman were repeated by persons on the same side with himself, I shall, when I come to them, reply *en masse*.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I shall now scrape an acquaintance with the hon. member from Charles, (*Mr. Clem. Dorsey*) he says, "at a crisis like this, it would have been best for parties to have conciliated ; the situation of the country demanded it, but the majority of this house do not seem to wish it—why do they not propose resolutions which the federalists can adopt?" I must confess that this is a mild, plausible kind of language, but it is hollow and sophistical ! That gentleman knows that it is impossible for us to offer resolutions which he would adopt. Our political ideas are widely dissimilar—and if we were to offer a kind of resolutions to which they would assent, to us they would be too flat and insipid—without spirit—nay, a mere *caput mortuum* of vitriol ! —for us, sir, to have served up a political dish to have pleased the palates of the federalists, would have been to deprive it of all seasoning ! it would be a mere pap ! it would be a tasteless *olio*—a *salmagundi*, without pepper, salt, vinegar or mustard ! —For, altho' the present *ragout* is rendered, by its ingredients, agreeably *piquant*, to us it appears, from the wry faces which the opposition make, a mouth-excoriating *devil* to them !

The gentleman next, in a rhapsody, talks of "the blood-stained decks of the Chesapeake," and the "ghost of the murdered Pierce"—and, by a volatile and a magic change of the scene, asks "why did the country suffer the disgrace of her citizens being prisoners in *Arras*?"—Why, sir, I believe, the whole number confined in *Arras* were not more than 50, and were those, conceived by the French government, to be Englishman, trading under forged American papers. At any rate, if they were Americans, they were violaters of the known laws of their country. His arguments respecting the non-intercourse law, are too flimsy, even to admit of being handled; at the very touch, they melt into thin air. Then comes the embargo! and altho' the subject is extremely *malleable*, under the hammer of legislative oratory; yet the gentleman has beaten upon it to the old tune, and, by a kind of "airy, fastidious levity, hops over proofs and arguments, and perches upon assertions, which, he calls conclusive."—He next, flippantly talks of British & French influence; still to the old chime of "Jacky the piper's son"—then a resting spell, even from thinking that he himself is reasoning; he calls names, such as "the great mammoth of the party," and reads an opinion of Dupont, relative to "Mr. Jefferson," which nobody denies—and talks of the dignified measures of the late administration, with a seemingly significant snarl!—Why, sir, we can *snarl* as well as that gentleman, and do what he dares not—we can *bite* as well as *snarl*!—If I were to judge from some late specimens of public speaking from those gentlemen, I should think that they had discovered something new in rhetoric, and that the *chef d'oeuvre* of oratory consisted in shewing a man's teeth!—what a wonderful discovery for a political fop, who would wish to display to the ladies in the lobby, his fine filed ivory *grinders*!—what a pity that *Quintillian*, in his *Institutes*, forgot this; and that even the graceful *Stanhope* has kept his *mouth shut* up on the subject!—By an elastic bound, the gentleman next carries us back to 1793; and pours forth a flood of feeling on the French revolution, certainly

too irrelevant to be noticed by me, even in reply. Immediately he whips us back again to the American shores!—and, after abusing the Collectors for exercising a legal and expedient power—produces Mr. Jefferson's "Notes on Virginia," and attempts to shew that his ideas of commerce were different *then* from what he supported in his Presidential chair!—Now, sir, admit, for argument's sake, that they are different—what does that prove? only that a man, in his closet, may have opinions, and honest ones too, which could not be reduced to practice. But, sir, do those gentlemen complain that the commercial theories contained in the Notes on Virginia, were not put in practice? What strange inconsistencies! when they have ever held up their hands against them! and have always been the advocates of an *active*, not of a *passive* commerce; always preferred that *we* should be the carriers, and not other nations for us—nor do I know that Mr. Jefferson was ever, in *practice*, of a different opinion from them.

But, sir the gentleman tells us, that we 'are inundated with foreigners, glutted with vices from European shores—that our naturalization laws admit vagabonds, sharpers and adventurers,' and quotes, from Mr. Jefferson's notes, his opinion on those subjects, to be very different from what he afterwards adopted. On this subject, sir, I must beg leave to differ in opinion from the gentleman. To be sure there are some persons admitted to the rights of citizenship who are no credit to any country; but would it not be cruel to deny to any man the benefit of a good government, to all the penalties of which he is willing to be amenable, and is so. Besides, sir, a large, very large majority, of persons who emigrate to this country are men of very high notions of civil liberty, men of useful, and often liberal knowledge—they bring with them the science and experience of the world; and while they increase the strength, spirit and population of our infant republic, they accelerate its improvement. Among the worthless foreigners who have visited our continent, the gentleman instances *Volney* and *Talleyrand*, men, before the

glow of whose genius, the member from Charles is burnt to a cinder ! The next quotation with which we are presented is a saying of Mr. *John Randolph*, "that the president had said, France wants money, and she must have it." Such a retailing as this of politics, is what we mean in these resolutions, by saying "the many misrepresentations and deceptions made and used to deceive and ensnare the unguarded voter"—retailing a part of a thing ;—giving nothing of the context or spirit of the conversation which produced this remark from Mr. Madison. The whole bug-bear was simply this—we wished to purchase the Florida's—Mr. M. said this was the best time to buy to advantage, *for France then wanted money, and must have it*, that is, even at her own sacrifice. Any thing, though ever so good and honest, may, by this garbled manner, be rendered wicked and perverse—even the bible may be made to speak atheism, if you will contend it says "There is no God," without informing us, that this is only the mad conception or ejaculation of a fool. But, no doubt, this gentleman believed France was about making us give money, whether we would or not, if Mr. Madison could induce us to it. At the same time that I must acquit this gentleman of every thing like design—every thing in the least uncandid and fallacious in *his* statement, and admire his *simple and amiable credulity*, although I can pay him no compliment as to the acuteness of his penetration, or to the soundness of his intellect !

I find, Mr. *Speaker*, that I shall occupy too much time if I reply to all the remarks of the gentlemen in the opposition, even as they appear on my notes—the best way is merely to exhibit them to this honorable body, in all their naked imbecility—not to waste my breath in *blowing them down*—not to touch them—for *even from notice* they receive all their *strength* !—they are like weak and feeble bantlings, they cannot stand alone—they must fall, unless I hold them up !—then, sir, I will read my political diary, and *en passant*, take some slight notice of its incoherent crudities !—for they are a faithful report of what was said by the oppositionists.

Imprimis—"The Marquis de cassa Yrujo brow-beated Mr. Jefferson!"

Item—"Great Britain, France and Spain, refused to do us justice, and to spite our faces, we *bite off* our own noses!" This is legerdemain.

Ditto—"Embargo did not prevent French national vessels from coming into the ports of the U. States"—"French vessels of war went out loaded with flour, &c."—"Bonaparte's decrees went in aid of our embargo!"—"France connived at the embargo!"—"Good Irish linen very high!"—"Embargo a political panacea—yet had no effect!"

Permit me, sir, to stop here, for a moment;—what was the reason the mechanics of Eng'd raised such a clamor? Why did the merchants appear at the bar of the house of commons? Why, sir, because the embargo pressed most grievously upon them! they said so in the face of the world, and yet we are told it had no effect except on ourselves—was there ever more absurdity! We are also told, sir, that "a persecution more bloody than ever *Nero* or *Caligula* exerted, was set on foot by the administration to carry the embargo measures into effect," and that "citizens of the United States expiated their resistance to this law on the gallows." These remarks of the gentleman, must flow from a brain in a high state of effervescence! No man ever suffered capitally for a violation of the embargo *alone*—but some committed *murder*—cool *DELIBERATE MURDER*, and they were justly stretched upon a gallows.

Sir, it is needless to controvert such gross assertions—but this three hour's speech of the gentleman is not calculated for the meridian of Annapolis; it is not as it issues from his mouth, to turn up and die on its back within these walls—it is to undergo a *metempsychosis*, sir, and to be dignified into the form of some *fi'penny-bit* pamphlet,—then to be translated to a more southern latitude, where, *metamorphosed* into a political kite, to be raised with this great speechifier to its back, by the gentle zephyrs of the united voices of Charles, St. Mary's and Calvert, in order easily to lodge him in a *niche* of the legislative hall of the union, at the next ses-

sion. Why, sir, Montgolfier will be a fool to this Maryland aeronaut, and Blanchard's balloons be forgotten, in admiring this new invention of political aerostation. The gentleman next runs foul of the gun-boats—calls them "barges, with one gun before and one behind." Sir, the utility of these flat-bottomed vessels in shallow water, and for the protection of ports and harbors, is too well known to be expatiated upon by me. Indeed, upon the score of *gratitude* the gentlemen in the opposition should not abuse the administration so much about them! for they are very *useful*, even to them, whenever they are out of argument or wit, to whet their geniuses upon! Even the vivid fancy of the gentleman from Frederick [*J. H. Thomas*] flagged its wing until she recovered strength, as he told us of one of these gun-boats having taken its flight into a cornfield of Georgia!

Next we hear Mr. Jefferson abused for insinuating to Congress, in one of his communications, that the chief justice of the supreme court of the U. States had not done his duty in the trial of Colonel Burr. Mr. *Speaker*, to take up the whole of this affair, and give it that discussion it may deserve, would require more than this house can spare, and call for the exercise of more talents than either the gentleman from Charles, or myself possess!—For this reason, to the simple affirmative of the gentleman, I shall file a bare negative, which will leave the subject just as we found it; and this mode will gratify a *personal delicacy*, which I at present feel on this subject, of which the public does not require a sacrifice.

Plump, then sir, comes the reiterated charge of proscription from office, which I shall hereafter discuss, under the head of the Frederick gentleman.

The Charles county orator then tells us "we have run the government to expence, by encreasing the salaries of the public officers." This is not worth answering!—Then he charges Mr. Jefferson with having instituted actions on libel, against many persons in Connecticut, and most grievously la-

ments the case of poor Parson Bacchus. Sir, the simple, plain story of this transaction, is this: Some over-zealous friends of Mr. J. without his privity or assent, instituted prosecutions for libel in that state; which as soon as he heard of, he sent an order to the United States' prosecutor, to strike them off—and all were so stricken off, except the one against parson Bacchus, for which the order came too late; he having been, tried, convicted and sentenced, before the prosecutor received Mr. Jefferson's letter.

Then, sir, the gentleman, in reference to a late act of this house, relative to the Fire Insurance office becomes quite loquacious. I shall refer this complaint, sir, to the more able investigation of my colleague.*

The gentleman, then sir, knocks again at the "closed doors" of Congress, and to follow suit, makes a revolutionary appeal, then finds fault with Jefferson, and at last winds up, by saying "he does not know what Mr. J. has done, except passing the embargo law; and the only good act he did in his eight year's administration, was the *last*, his retiring to Monticello." Alas, Mr. Speaker! how lamentable it is, if truth and right be always the same, be immutable, that on the same subject, opinions should be so diametrically opposite. How powerful is prejudice! How insuperable are habits! A man may deal so much in truth and falshood, that at last he cannot discriminate the one from the other; and blindfolded by party spirit, he first tastes sweet, then sour, and so on alternately, until he will lose the nicety of discrimination—lose the acuteness of perception to mistake honey for acid, and acid for honey! For my part, sir, I think the administration just reviled and abused, to be the best and purest example of governmental honesty

* Mr. Bland apprised me of his attention to speak generally on the subject under investigation; but it being after 12 at night, before Mr. Parham, (who followed Mr. W.) sat down, and a strenuous call for the question; Mr. B. suppressed his own feelings by declining to speak, in order to gratify the disposition of the members to come to a final close of the business. [REP.]

and wisdom, with which the world has ever been blessed. The people think so, and Chatham has boldly acknowledged that *vox populi est vox Dei*—the voice of the people is the voice of truth, and so it is when it is theirs! When uninfluenced by passion or prejudice—when formed upon a full and fair knowledge of things. In the language of *Junius* “the people, in their intentions, are always right, though in their opinions they may sometimes be mistaken.” Mr. Speaker there is an eternal fallability in human nature, which is felt by a unit in creation, and the addition of millions cannot, perhaps, cure every imperfection—the primeval seeds of error and of weakness, can never be entirely eradicated—yet there may be an ultimate point of perfection which it is in the power of man to attain, and perhaps *he* has approached it nearest who has been the cause of this labored invective.

If it is agreeable to you, sir, I shall now bid a long adieu to the gentleman from Charles, who has in my opinion, given us the wildest farrago, that ever emanated from any man, either in this or any other deliberative assembly!

Mr. Speaker—The last gentleman, who was also the *first* in the *melo-drame*, is the hon. member from Frederick. I shall beg leave, in this *last act*, to occupy a considerable portion of your time and attention, in my replication to him. I must remark that my expectation was much raised to hear that gentleman on this important subject—I expected to hear what is usually called a *great speech*! but must confess, that, like many others, under similar anxieties, I was most miserably disappointed. Nothing like acute or profound argument—nothing like splendid fancy, nor original genius, has marked this exertion of the gentleman. If language rather chaste and elocution rather easy and select—if the incessant attempt to give the “airy nothings a local habitation and a name to make the worst appear the better reason,” be sufficient to constitute the orator, the gentleman alluded to certainly has some pretensions to that character! I must confess that as a *made, factitious* speaker, as he has taken more *pains* than any one in this house, he speaks

more by *rule* than any one here, perhaps having fewer faults to be reprehended, he has fewer beauties to be admired, than almost any man who attempts superiority in debate ! He commences by calling the gentleman from Queen Ann's, [Mr. *J. E. Spencer*] the premier of the party ; and seems to think, that since that gentleman has come out, he now has become worthy of his pursuit. I suspect the gentleman may find him so—but he risks the danger of being *hard run* ! Yet regardless of this danger, sir, the gentleman proceeds to say, " My hon. friend from Queen Ann's, as well as the other advocates of these resolutions have been led beyond their depth." Indeed ! The gentleman must jest ! Has he so soon forgotten the able, conclusive and manly manner, in which my much esteemed friend handled the whole of the subject ? Who waded through the boisterous ocean of party animosities and conflicting politics, and drove before him the miserable little skiffs of the adverse party, scudding before the wind to evade him, or presumptuously putting out to sea ! Even this vily Ulysses has cautiously avoided the gigantic powers of this modern Polyphemus, not like the son of Neptune of old, tho' powerful, yet 'reft of sight ; but with the full orb of light playing around him, and furthering every exertion ; I hesitate not, sir, to pronounce the discussion of my honorable friend, the most able and conclusive exposition of the whole of those resolutions which has or will take place. The gentleman, however, can see nothing worth admiring until he comes to his friend from Charles, whose *gallimatius* he calls " a mass of invaluable matter,"—Yes, sir, he might have said *rudis indigestaque modis*, a rude and undigested mass, and the discordant seeds of things not well concocted together ! I next find the gentleman launching out in a studied invective against Mr. Jefferson, says " he commenced in error and ended in worse," " that he had been guilty of a profligate abandonment of principle," " that he knew his canting, whining hypocrisy, like all the philosophers of the new school, says we are all brethren of one family." It is the easiest thing in the world,

sir, to make assertions, and the vehemence of them, is, most generally, a correct characteristic of their falacy. That Mr. Jefferson commenced in error is what that gentleman cannot prove, nor that he ended in any thing worse. That he can put no faith in him, is what we all know, for their creed of politics is directly in opposition. As to his profligate abandonment of principle, this is an assertion too rash and indecorous even to be noticed, as well as the remarks which I have first mentioned. The gentleman next, by an easy transition, comes in contact with Mr. Adams, and asserts that he "was the curse and downfall of his party," and that "they were both shipwrecked together." I must confess that I should have preferred, if it could have been so, that the man against whom Mr. Adams has lately so ably written, had been alive—that is, if I were to have written against them, I should have done it in their life times: Yet, I have no doubt that the secrets which he let out against them are true and correct, which incontestibly prove that he, and the country, were carried to the very brink of destruction, by the treachery and political villainy of a faithless and designing cabinet. If I can judge from Mr. Adams's writings, I should say that he is a good American—nay, perhaps—a republican. But he has had his brain most miserably bewitched with the supposed superiority, as he thinks, of checks and ballances; and, perhaps, he would think the ultimatum of political wisdom and virtue to consist in a *republican king*, house of lords and commons! I know I appear to speak a contradiction, and I much doubt whether I could define Mr. Adams's notions of government without committing a solecism in language.

The next abuse which the gentleman vents on Mr. Jefferson, is, for what he calls "a train of unrelenting indiscriminate proscription from office," and instances only four characters who have been turned out. What a pity he forgot to tell us how many adversaries to Mr. J. were retained in public employment! The immense number are too well known to need an enumeration, and the paucity proscribed is very plainly shewn by the gentleman,

after, no doubt, a tedious research, and hunting up every instance, to be reduced to four, who I have no hesistion to believe were justly displaced.

I will, Mr. Speaker, give this subject of displacing federalists from, and not appointing them to office, some serious considerations. Is the principle right? Upon this ground I think it is—the people, by their electing democrats to fill the offices of the nation—by a large majority appointing a democratic administration, express their wish, will and determination, that the government should be administered upon democratic principles, and the great functionaries, who have been elected by the people under the pledge of supporting their will, know what is expected from them. Now, sir, is it not folly, aye, downright treachery against the majesty of the people, for those great functionaries to retain in, or appoint to office, men whose politics and notions of government are hostile to the principles of democracy? I assert that no man of nice and delicate notions of correctness and honor will hold an office under an administration which he thinks iniquitous, disgraceful and bad—He will retire and say, although I will defend my country whenever her existence or welfare may require it, notwithstanding her misfortune to be ruled by a set of drivellers and knaves, yet I will wash my hands of any transactions or agency in an administration which I hate and despise; and if I were to take a part, I must either play the knave or hypocrite, or ingrate with my employers—I will do all I can, fairly and honestly to oust these men from their superiority, but, until then “the post of honor is the private station.”

For my part, sir, I never sought for, nor asked an office, while the other party were in power; and I admired the gentleman from Charles when he said he “would not, as things now stand, accept any office in the gift of the present administration,” altho’ perhaps, in this instance, “Jack would not eat his supper—for the very best of reasons—because he could not get it!”

The gentleman from Frederick next bolts in with a rigmorole, obsolete string of objections, a

about the contested election of Mr. Jefferson and Burr—talks of a Mr. Linn of N. Jersey—Matthew Lyon of Vermont, being appointed Post-Master for his services on that occasion—attho' it is well known that the Post-Master general appointed him and not the President.—Next comes an allusion to Mr. George Dent of Maryland, his not having been rewarded for his patriotism.—Yet, I believe, Mr. Dent was offered the appointment of marshal for the district of Maryland—then says “Claiborne *was made to act* the part of governor at New-Orleans. If so, sir, I think he has acted the part pretty well.

Permit me to read on in my diary, sir. Repeats the charge of the gentleman from Prince George's about “the proceedings of Congress being kept a secret”—“republicans ought to have no secrets.” I answered all this, Mr. Speaker, before. Proceeds. “Mr. Jefferson's inconsistencies do not surprise him”—“In perfect conformity with the whole conduct of this man, who has contradicted by practice all he ever wrote concerning government—particularly respecting the navy”—Same as the gentleman from Charles—reads notes on Virginia here. It will be recollected that my friend from Washington (*Mr. Brent,*) answered all these objections.

Next the gentleman tells us, “this country is a hot-bed, prematurely for the growth of the mechanic arts”—and reads again from Mr. Jefferson's Notes.—I am clearly of opinion that we never shall be entirely free and independent until we cultivate the mechanical arts, and carry them to the highest perfection of which they are capable, until we are *manufacturers*. Our dependance on transatlantic looms, and workshops, render us, in a manner dependant, and the greater the encouragement, and the sooner we turn all our necessary energies to these objects, the better. We are now like a man always in debt, he never feels free; he is in a manner shorn of his liberty.

The gentleman ridicules the idea that the present, or rather late administration, made any beneficial alterations or improvements in the revenue

system, and contends that "they have derived all their income from taxation and other obvious sources—and that the reason the people have not complained, as they did under the former administration, was, because the taxes are indirect." Sir, my ideas on taxation are briefly these: the people know money must be raised to support the government—well, sir, the financier who can raise the adequate sums in the easiest way, without the people complaining, or, in a manner, even feeling the different taxes, does what is perfectly right and proper; provided he do not violate their constitutional rights by his fiscal arrangements. The people seldom or never complain of a just and necessary taxation; but if they be free and spirited, they will disdain to pay a cent wrongfully and arbitrarily exacted. Even in England, *Hamden* was one instance in support of this position. In this country, I hope we have thousands of *Hamdens*!

Sir, the late administration abolished odious and grievous taxes, excise laws, alien and sedition laws, and an odious standing-army. Mr. Jefferson introduced an economical reform, not only in the great public household of the nation, but in its various ramifications.

I hate meanness under the garb of economy, as much, or more, than I do downright prodigality.—These are the extremes; generosity, or liberality, or correct economy are the mean—and that policy is bad, which does not adopt this intermediary point. Let me ask the gentleman if there have been no reduction of the public debt, and if there have not also been an accumulation of monies in the public treasury, by means of this economy? Nobody can fairly doubt it. But he says we have raised money from what is called the Mediterranean fund. Sir, by this fund, is understood an additional per cent. of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ on all goods imported; which paid, I think, about 15 per cent. It was laid by Congress to defray the expence of our squadron off the coast of Barbary—and yields about 1 million dollars per ann.—Congress, in their option, can take it off whenever they see it best so to do—I have heard no complaints of its continuance.

As to the remark "that the sensibility of the administration is in the pocket-nerve," I presume, the gentleman made use of the expression only in compliment to Mr. Randolph, who was the inventor of this delicate metaphor. We are next told by the gentleman, our "clamor against the alien and sedition laws, did not proceed from principle, but was mere party work"—for "we did not care for a turbulent foreigner being sent to prison."—Would he be *justly* sent there, or not, Mr. Speaker, is the quere—who were to determine whether or not he was turbulent? Why, men, prejudiced against him—and to be tried or suspected, was to be condemned.

As to the remark against my honorable friends, that "all this oratory would not get 100 votes," I must confess that I am not wizzard enough to say whether the calculation be correct or not; but let the worst happen, the gentleman from Frederick may safely calculate on being in their company! For, altho' he has thrown the reins of his judgment loose and flowing upon the neck of his imagination—yet the nag upon which he has been mounted, is so miserably spavined, galled, crippled and wind-broken, that, like the horse of Hudibras, its greatest speed is an ambling, stumbling, tollutation, or succussation—in plain English, trot or pace. The gentleman dissents, however, from the opinion of my friend from Charles, that we have had the persecutions of NERO and CALIGULA—and well he might—for when that gentleman made that assertion, I thought *ver aut insanus est—aut facit versus*, either the man is mad, or—he makes verses!—He next touches upon a very interesting subject, in these words—"you have, no doubt, Mr. Speaker, heard, that Congress were obliged to cover certain transactions of the late Secretary of the Navy by a law"—he goes on further to say "that this same Secretary, when in the Navy Department, was actuated by a system of favoritism, particularly in the purchase, by the U. States' Navy agent, at Baltimore, certain bills of exchange, to a large amount, of S. Smith & J. A. Buchanan, on Degan, Purvi-

ance & Co. of Leghorn ; by which, (he says) the U.S. have lost a large sum of money—and that *Samuel Smith*, tho' a Senator of the U. S. secured his property under French contracts and French protections"—reads a letter from Mr. Gallatin about the bills of exchange, and also one from Gen. Armstrong—says, "you all have heard of the Secretary of State ; no doubt many have known that he was once Secretary of the Navy—and we all know who *Robert Smith* is, as also who is the Navy agent at Baltimore"—and then proceeds—"but the *faithful* on the other side believe none of these charges."—I will now, Mr. Speaker, take up these pointed & extraordinary charges and insinuations, and give them a full and thorough investigation :—first, let me observe, that this gentleman, in a solitary expression, or word, often means more than the expression or word, to a careless observer, would seem to import !

In polemical warfare, as in fencing, the most cutting and masterly stroke or pass, is neither anticipated nor seen, until it is felt ; and if this gentleman's political foil were not eternally encumbered with a marring button, I know of no one who would more excell at this nice kind of *quarte and teirce*, but it so happens that his *eye betrays* always the meditated lunge, ere his half strung arm can perform it !

Now permit me to comment on the words "*the FAITHFUL on the other side.*" I thought the gentleman, by his emphasis, and by the direction of his looks here, did me the honor of a particular notice—and to the whole manner and matter I give this interpretation of his inuendo. By the epithet *faithful* he meant, that altho' my mind were not convinced of the fallacy of the charges against Gen. Smith and the Secretary of the Navy, from reason and facts ; yet I was determined to take their innocency on *faith*, on trust, even on the general's *ipse dixit*. Sir, political faith may be ascertained by the definition in the scriptures of religious faith, which, if I forget not, is defined to be "the evidence of things unseen, and the substance of things unhopèd for." Now, sir, it was insinuat-

ed, by this solitary word, that I had faith in the evidence of these political and personal charges, or things being false, tho' that evidence of them was *unseen* by me ; and hoping for the General's innocence, I take for the substance the shadow—that is, it is only by *blind faith* I believe him innocent. I will convince the gentleman, and this august assembly, that I form my judgment alone on facts. The voluminous documents I have before me, when I shall detail them before this House, will prove that all the accusations are unfounded. The whole is a plain story, and how any person in this state, after it was so thoroughly laid before the whole community, could hesitate to pronounce the charge fallacious, is, to me, almost unaccountable. How any man should have believed the distorted arguments of our opponents on these subjects, when the plain, obvious, untortured exhibition of innocence, was presented as the antidote, can only be accounted for, according to the arguments of *Mr. Curran*, that “there is a bold and aspiring credulity, which disdains assenting to obvious truths, but delights in catching at the improbability of circumstances as its best ground of faith.”—But the State of Maryland, the grand inquest of political integrity, have pronounced all these charges as baseless and vituperative. However, I will proceed to examine the documents, and must pray the indulgence of the chair, while I devote some time to tedious enquiry and rather dull detail.—I feel myself completely prepared on these subjects, for I expected these charges on a prior occasion*

[Here Mr. W. went into an examination of the papers on all the charges of French contracts, protections, bills of exchange, &c. and resumed the general discussion, as follows :]

* Here Mr. W. alluded to the time when he nominated General Smith as a Senator to the United States, on going into the ballot for that purpose. *Col. Stewart*, of Charles, nominated *Col. Howard*, and, after passing some encomiums on him, said he “wished the gentleman from the city of Baltimore, could say as much for the man he had just put in nomination.” Mr. W. half rose, but was requested to take his seat again ; it being conceived that the remarks of *Col. Stewart* did not require a reply.

Rep.

Mr. *Speaker*. Having now done my duty on these personal charges against General Smith, I will proceed to the further discussion of the insinuations against the Honorable Secretary of State. "We know who this secretary was, and who he is!" says the gentleman—yes, sir, we do know that he was once a practitioner of law in this state, and that he comported himself as a man of honor, talents and fidelity. We know that he was a delegate on this floor from the city of Baltimore; and that he discharged his duties, as a faithful and able agent of the people. We know that *Robert Smith* was appointed secretary of the navy, and that he filled the office with full confidence of the nation, and retired thence with the praise and approbation of the American people in general, and the personal good will, nay friendship, of every man who had any thing to do with him. The numerous testimonials of respect and commendation of the gentlemen of the Navy, in particular, on his retiring from that station, in the public papers of that period, bear testimony to this; so far from a "system of favoritism," he retains the chief clerk in the navy department, as also the accountant, both known to be decidedly hostile to him in political sentiments. Nay, Mr. Speaker, it is known to be an incontrovertable fact, that in the navy of the United States, at least two-thirds of the officers are federalists, as well as in the army, and I find no material fault with this, because a soldier, who accepts a commission from any government, is bound by all the dictates of honor, not to descend into a miserable party politician, but to draw his sword, and use it for the support and defence of that government, or resign his commission. From my personal knowledge of a great many officers, both in our land and sea service, I will vouch, that no man of honor, who wears the commission of the United States, will or can ever feel himself released from the honorable obligations of his profession, because his political creed may differ from the administration. No, Sir! when party spirit breathes its tarnishing breath upon the sword of the soldier, then indeed is the country in the most despicable

state of disgrace.—Lastly, sir, “we know the present secretary of state,” and he has as yet acquitted himself as was anticipated—his urbanity, firmness, judgment and penetration, in his late negotiations with an unprincipled diplomatic juggler, place him deservedly high in the confidence of his country!

One word, sir, respecting the Navy-Agent in Baltimore. He is the son of *Capt. Stricker*, who fought in the battles of '76.—He was a cadet in the battle of Long Island, and stands high and unimpeached as a brigadier general in this state; and is, in private and public life, irreproachable!

I find the gentleman from Frederick has made an eulogy on Mr. *Gallatin*—he, no doubt, deserves it; but as in logic a man may be said to prove too much sometimes, so in politics, a man may play too great a game. It is rather ominous to hear *every one* speak well of a man! The gentleman next gives Mr. Jefferson no credit for what he calls civilising and educating the Indians. “The Washington policy, in this respect, was equally benign, although he did not call his red children by such honied accents as did Mr. J. Indeed, (says the gentleman) we appear to have fallen so much in love with savages, that we borrow from them their titles, such as *tribes, sachems, wiskingkeys, &c.*” with these personal topics, sir, my colleague is much better acquainted than myself, I shall therefore leave them to him. He nexts talks of the new and horrid tyranny of France; and, he continues, “the future *regime* of this country, may, if he say any thing further on this topic and his words be recorded, subject his neck to the halter.” Mr. Speaker, what is intended by this French expression *regime*, is this, some years since there came to to the city of Baltimore—whether for pleasure or profit is immaterial—a Mr. *Jerome Bonaparte*, brother of the emperor *Napoleon*; his deportment was that of a well-bred foreigner; he lived some time amongst us, without in the least insulting or ridiculing our plain republican manners—without violating either law or decency, and without infringing on either the feelings or property of any man, (I wish I could

say as much for many other foreigners who have been caressed by our citizens) he married into a family of the first wealth and respectability amongst us; and with all the innocence and beauty of this Arcadian country, found in his choice all the sensibility of soul, and polished refinement of mind of which human powers are susceptible!—They had a son, now about three years old, which son is said to have been created a *Prince*, and adopted into the house of Napoleon. Now, sir, will you believe it, the gentleman from Charles, as well as my worthy friend from Frederick, are absolutely by their own confession, overwhelmed with fear and trembling, lest this little piece of common mortality—this lovely pledge of conjugal fondness—this prince of cradled innocence, should rise up in all the majesty of a tyrant; and like another redoubtable tragic Tom Thumb, cut off all their heads, and lay the giant of republicanism prostrate in the dust! Gentlemen, you are dreaming! “*I find Queen Mab has been with you last night?*” do “*swear a prayer or two, and go to sleep again!*”

Sir, the gentleman next asks us, in reply to an interrogation put by my friends “what would have been the use for the federalists, when they found fault of the embargo, to have proposed a measure of their own, which however wise and useful as they were in the minority would have been of no avail.” Sir, I am somewhat surprised that those which have been so often made & insisted on should not have been answered by my friends. It appears to me, that as good citizens, as faithful agents of the people, no matter on what side of politics they were, if they knew of a better measure they ought to have offered it for consideration. And let me tell the federal party, we should have been deservedly thrown out of the majority, by the people, if from prejudice or party spirit, we had rejected a measure which would have saved the country from the unavoidable privation and suffering which was endured under the embargo law. If the proposals of the federalists had been negatived in the house, they would have gone before the people, and said

to them—"See here is the measure we proposed, instead of the "villainous embargo," [as Mr. Sampson calls it] your patriotic democratic servants, although we must have convinced them of its superior goodness, yet, *merely* because it came from our side of the house, they being more numerous than we, rejected it—and are these :—fellow-citizens, the men you intend continuing in office," &c. The people would have indignantly answered, "turn them out of the temple ;" and correctly too. And do you believe, Mr. Speaker, the federalists did not know all this?—Well why, did they not do it?—for this solitary reason, they had no measure of their own to propose, unless it was worse than the embargo. *Perhaps* they would have gone to war with *England*—this might have been a better measure. In the *hive* of the republic there are such things as political *drones*, they fill an hexagonal compartment in the comb, and eat as much honey as any other members ; but they do no good whatever, yet make more noise and buzzing than the most useful and legitimate bee !—these drones, originally have all the capabilities of usefulness, but from some indiscretions, or to gratify their tempers, they lose their *stings* and become good for nothing at all-at-all !

The gentleman then gives gen. Smith a touch, respecting the appointment of *William Duane* to a colonelcy in the United States' army—calls him "a foreigner of the lowest class," and says we "resort to the refuse of jails from Europe, for officers to command our armies." In the first place, sir, I am told Mr. Duane is not, by birth, a foreigner, that he was born near New York—but to me it is immaterial where he was rocked in a cradle ; or whether a southern or northern star first twinkled upon his or any other man's nativity. These illiberal notions against foreigners I look upon to be the relicts of nursery impressions and prejudices : " 'Tis *education* forms the common mind," moral, not climatical influence is only worthy to be attended to. "Physical man is every where the same, or why does modern tyranny smile with complaisance on the despot, in the very place where Leo-

nidas expired." Why, sir, on this very ground that I now tread, do I see Legislation to have taken up her abode under free and civilized man, when, but a few years have rolled behind us, since this very spot of earth was trodden on by the dissocial and naked savage, who while he adored the same genial sun that shines upon us, as his deity, bowed his slavish neck to some arbitrary painted tyrant of a tribe. As to Mr. Duane's private character, I know nothing against him; and since the gentleman from Frederick has boasted of his *personal* intimacy with Col. Pickering, permit me to inform you, Mr. Speaker, and this honorable house, that I once had a personal introduction to Col. Duane, at Philadelphia. No man doubts his talents—and, I presume, an able treatise on military tactics called the "American Military Library," wherein he discovers himself to be a master of the most antient as well as modern theories of warfare, was a recommendation to his appointment; and, I make no doubt, that he will do his duty with fidelity and ability.

Mr. Speaker, unless I again resort to my new mode of attack, upon these gentlemen, by *diary reading*, I see I shall wear out your patience—*Eh bien!*—Here's at it!—"these gentlemen observe great order in managing their affairs. They keep close rank and file—no defection—no intrusion"—sir, I am obliged to the gentleman for this compliment!—goes on—"what is your object in the embargo?"—"do you vindicate the honor and support the rights of your country?" "What penny wise and pound foolish policy of Mr. Jefferson!"—"this hermaphrodite system, which is neither peace nor war"—Mr. Pinkney was authorised to tell Great Britain that the embargo was not a measure of coercion or hostility against her"—you will please to recollect, sir, that all these charges have been answered by my friend from Washington, (Mr. Brent) "Embargo not a measure of defence."—"If notice had been given of the orders in council and French decrees, to our merchants, it would have been sufficient."—If they then chose to venture out, why let them take the consequences."

"But there was also an embargo; what was the object of it?" "was it to bring into operation the redoubtable system of gun boats?" "I never heard any thing else they did, except the flight of one of them into a Georgia corn-field." We next hear something or another about "the present Secretary of the Navy, Paul Hamilton"; which, to be honest, I do not now recollect distinctly; "an extract from Rabelais, about one Garagantua combing, I don't know how many cannon balls, out of his hair, after a battle! This, sir, is a terrible *brimborian*! Ergo, Mr. Speaker, I suppose the Gun Boats should have their rigging and sails filled with cannon balls! The twentieth page of my notes next tells me, that the gentleman says "in no country except China, before the laying of our embargo was such a policy ever adopted"—"that even since the days of Tarleton the system of retreat has been a favorite one with Mr. Jefferson." This, sir, is the old Carter's Mountain tale, which has been so often answered and refuted that it is scarcely worth notice. I have lately read Tarleton's campaigns, written by himself, in which he speaks of this affair; and so far from casting any imputation of cowardice or misconduct on Mr. Jefferson, for his retiring as he did, seems to have been disappointed, and regrets that he did not succeed in surprising the governor of Virginia. I find the gentleman next jostling against the embargo; says "it was laid for no cause"—"past in one day"—"the administration had only *Regnier's* and *Champagne's* letters, and the English proclamation"; that the expected orders in council were not at that period, known, nor even mentioned."

Mr. Speaker—I must be very much mistaken, if in the speech of Mr. Bougman, before the house of commons, he did not acknowledge "that, although this government did not *officially* know of the orders in council, yet such measures had been by us looked for—and that the very orders which induced the embargo were *known* to Mr. Jefferson, on the 15th December, and the Embargo, I think, passed on the 22d of the month." This, sir, is what even

Englishmen admit, in the very face of the ministry, under the very nose of Mr. Canning, who appears to me into of her character than that of a desperate unprincipled gambler in politics, and thinks it all fair play, to give a sly peep into his adversary's hand, or to stock his cards on him or to lose deal, or to shuffle a card under the table—nay, to take all advantages by every little cunning; and he rises in his own estimation in proportion as he excels in cheating and finesse! Let his partners or adversaries get what hands they may, he will always make out to hold the *knave* as his part; and, sir, I predict, that he, like all other gamblers, will at last be kicked down the stairs of promotion, and become a miserable object of broken fortune and blasted reputation. Perhaps he may amuse the world in his exit from it, by writing some treatise on court intrigue, diplomatic treachery and ministerial chicanery, as broken gamblers have done. Already we have *Hoyle* on *whist*, and *Philadon* on *chess*; and ere long, I expect, we shall have “Canning on *Se jeu Diplomatique*.”

Next the gentlemen raises up the subject of blockade, and says “he believes the English had actually blockaded the whole coast from the Elbe to Brest, and thinks it unnecessary to resort to Vattel, Puffendorf or Grotius, on the subject. Sir, my opinion of blockade is this—a place is not in a state of blockade, unless the blockading force be superior to the force blockaded; and unless the place blockaded be dangerous and difficult of entry. Until the vile innovations of the English this was always the definition of blockade, and so is the law of nations. Now, sir, *were* all the ports from the Elbe to Brest in this state of investment?—No—then it was false and illegal to declare them in a state of blockade. Again the gentleman proceeds—“There is no justification for the path which our government has taken”—reads letter from *Decres*—He refers Gen. Armstrong to the minister of exterior relations—“No case of capture until that of the ship *Horizon*”—reads letter from Mr. Madison to General Armstrong—“Plunder commenced by the French as soon as the decree was known”—“No reliance

to be put on the words of Frenchmen"—I differ from the gentleman. After stating a comparison between the orders in council and the decrees, and concluding that both deny us the freedom of trade, he talks about our "shutting ourselves up in our shells," and asks "if this not a ludicrous mode of defence," and, after a violent philippic against the embargo—all which arguments, Mr. Speaker, have been a thousand times advanced, and a thousand times defeated or answered—and you perceive I answer no arguments which I look upon to be stale, and none which other persons have answered; the gentleman remarks that "it is dangerous for government to interfere with pursuits of individuals," and asks, "Were the merchants afraid of venturing out to sea?"—"What was the rate of premium on insurance?"—"Did they not get to sea as fast as they could, when they first heard of the embargo?"—"When permission was allowed to bring home property, all returned, there were no instances of capture!"

A word or two, sir, upon these assertions and queries: As to the first which is worthy of notice, relative to the rate of premium on insurance—Before the attack on the Chesapeake, it was, I believe, from three to five—until the laying of the embargo from 12½ to 15 per cent.—about the laying of the embargo, and for some time after, no insurance could be effected. But, after some time insurances were made, though the policies had so many exceptions, restrictions and provisos in them, that they were of not very much consequence. As to the second, that "vessels which went out to bring home property, returned safe," it is true, and it was very easily accounted for—The English cruisers, immediately on the embargo being laid, behaved in the most polite manner to our vessels, and said they had orders not to molest any American, even if her papers were informal, or if she even wanted a clearance; and on no account to capture, unless enemies' property was found on board. And who does not see through all this!—They wanted our citizens to violate the embargo; they were awed at the measure—they wished, by

a kind of crocodile conciliation to get on good terms again; and so few were the vessels sent out, they were scarcely worth cruising for. "The honest truth is," says the gentleman, "if the embargo had not been laid, we should have had a trade to the colonies, and a direct trade also." I think, sir, I mentioned this direct trade, in reply to the gentleman from P. Georges. And what was this colonial trade they seem to think so much of? Why, sir, to Martinique, which was shortly after captured; Guadaloupe, which was declared in a state of blockade—to the Havanna, and St. Bartholomews, a Danish island. The direct trade was only to England and some parts of Spain.—I have, sir, on my notes, some trite objections, rendered, by repeated use, entirely threadbare—completely out at the elbows!—I must be excused from even reading them.

I am aware of the long time I have already exhausted; and if, sir, I did not perceive your very polite and indulgent attention, I should here be induced to pray a little further liberality of your patience. But, perceiving that I am anticipated by your goodness, to request what is already granted, would subject me to a want of penetration in discovering your generosity. I will proceed therefore with the gentleman. He boldly denies that *Timothy Pickering* ever said that 'G. Britain had done us no harm'—calls him 'the high priest of truth,' 'the beloved of Washington'—that 'he had seen and conversed with him too!' 'and was reminded of Spartan and Roman virtue'—'that he had devoted his life for his country, and yet he was forced to labor for his support'—That he 'and Mr. *Hillhouse* were both plain honest farmers, not like the lordly nabobs of the South;' and that 'Mr. P. rendered his country never-to-be-forgotten services.'

Mr. Speaker. My feelings on this part of the debate are very, indeed very unenviable—they are of a mingled, painful, indefinable, cast: the hon. gentleman from Frederick, and myself, are in the habits of *friendship*, so much so, that even the asperities of party spirit are reduced and softened down between us. More and more, on inti-

mate acquaintance, admire the amiabilities of the man, and feel flattered to think that politics *alone* is the subject on which we differ: He has just expressed unbounded love and admiration of a man of whom I shall speak in the honest sincerity of my soul, in the most unqualified terms of political disapprobation, hatred and contempt:—and yet, sir, I would have spared saying much against him, had not the gentlemen, by other personalities, induced and compelled retort; for Mr. P. is the representative in the Senate of the U. S. of a very large and respectable portion of our fellow-citizens, and I do not like even to appear to traduce the representatives of the people, high in office. I do not wish to appear assumingly petulant against him; indeed, sir, where it can answer no very good purpose I most sincerely despise personalities: But when the gentlemen have vilified and calumniated Thomas Jefferson, a man hermetically sealed in the heart of his country; the friend and benefactor of the whole human family, whose voluntary retirement from the most honorable post in the gift of the whole world, the chief magistracy of this free nation, has rendered his reputation holy, and whose good fame is only commensurate with the limits of this habitable globe. Yes, sir, “recorded honors shall gather round his memory, and thicken over it. When we shall be forgotten, when the moss-grown stone shall mark our undistinguished heads, and the passing wind sigh through the grass that o’er grows our narrow house,” when *Timothy Pickering* shall only be remembered to be hated ‘and damned to everlasting fame,’ the name of *Thomas Jefferson* shall flourish in immortal youth, unhurt amidst the war of elements, the wreck of matter and the crash of worlds.’ It shall be hailed and blessed by millions yet unborn, “whose sons shall blush their fathers were his foes.” However, sir, that great man does not stand in need of my feeble panegyric, either praise or abuse of great or conspicuous men, had better come from persons who may not be deemed, like myself, *unknown*. We too often see the *sparrow*

pecking at the *eagle*, and hanging to his feathers, only with the vanity of being carried by the noble bird into regions of altitude and splendor; into a zenith which it could never otherwise have attained!

Now, sir, for a moment, let us see who is this mighty Mr. Pickering—*He is, in my opinion, the very worst man in the country!* when he was in power what artifice did he leave untried to set the government against the people; and now he is out of power, what duplicity and villainy does he not employ, to set the people against the government? He has been the same bad man from the beginning: where was this patriotic and valiant colonel when that battle † was fought?—Where was col. Pickering with his regiment, when American blood was streaming on the plains of *Lexington*?—He was most basely and treacherously, nay hypocritically withholding the eager spirits of his troops from the glorious contest!—His behaviour, at Philadelphia, afterwards, when it was evacuated, shed an impenetrable cloud of suspicion and accusation around him! Yet, it is said, “he was beloved of Washington, and rendered services to the country!” Why, sir, during the whole of the revolutionary war he was in the *staff*; and even if he were beloved by gen. Washington, that only proves that the best of men are often imposed upon by the worst! like an insinuating and wiley serpent, he no doubt, wound himself around the generous and good and unsuspecting heart of the father of his country—for the best of men are the last to suspect bad qualities in others professing to be free from wickedness and design. Nor, sir, was General Washington calculated to develope the dark and compact involutions, the writhing obliquities of such a character as Mr. *Pickering*!

He is the deadly *Upas tree* of the East, throwing his blasting and poisonous influence around him.—He stands pre-eminently bad amidst a lugubrious

† Mr W. pointed to an elegant engraving of the battle of Lexington, suspended on the walls of the house, at the right of the Speaker's chair.

scene of sterility, desolation and death! beneath his deleterious shade, no verdure quickens—no solitary plant takes root. When he moves along through our continent he resembles the stilly demon of pestilence, pervading this healthy and peaceful country! It is well that he has now happily arrived at the maturity of corruption, where the worst examples cease to be contagious, except some few characters, as well in the middle and southern states as in the Eastern, who are still in so high a state of predisposition to his infection, as to be inoculated by him, or to get fresh charged with the old malady, as he passes along.

Sir, I will cease to speak of a man who has my most cordial maledictions—He is now too well known, to do much more mischief. In the language of *Junius*, I will finish my slight sketch of his character; “we owe it to the bounty of Providence, that the completest depravity of the heart is strongly united with a confession of the mind that counteracts its most favorite principles, and makes the same man treacherous without art, and a hypocrite without deceiving.”

Mr. *Speaker*, the Frederick gentleman next talks about the “*invisible hand*,” which was mentioned by a member of Congress, and takes occasion to pass an eulogium on Mr. Gardenier, for at least his “honesty and independence.”—But, sir, I must remind the gentleman that a *visible* hand has been discovered in this House, which, after pointing to the opposition, inscribed upon our own walls, *mene, mene, tekel, upharsin*. Next, sir, the origin of our difficulties with Europe are traced back to the rejection of Munroe’s treaty—says “all was done ministers could do;” reads a letter of 17th May, 1806, from Mr. Madison to Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney; also a note from two English commissioners, an explanation which took place thereon; asserts “that every thing was obtained that could be;” abuses Mr. Jefferson for rejecting the treaty, for not laying it before the Senate—“if it had been submitted to them, a negotiation might have been entered into which would have adjusted all our differences!” “what were the impressions of the

people of Maryland?" "they passed a special act to stay executions." Sir, all these objections have been answered over and over again. I only select them to shew the sort of arguments which are resorted to against us; they need no more refutation by me. But the gentleman so much opposed to addresses, says, that "Mr. Jefferson, instead of being the savior of his country, is the curse of it."—"He has been styled the author of the Declaration of Independence—he may be—as he always acts in direct opposition to his professions and promises; for *that* complains of the cutting off of our commerce by the King of Great-Britain—Mr. J. has cut it off by the embargo"—"had not *that* instrument complained of the violation of the rights of the citizen and the independence of the judiciary?"—"we might not have expected the proceedings at N. Orleans, which were mantled by government"—"Mr. J's purpose has been to throw fire-brands amongst the people, not to unite them"—"affectation of republican simplicity and moderation played off by him"—"for his plan was, under the appearance of giving up all authority, to encrease his personal influence"—"Washington never had more."—These, sir, are crude opinions and unsubstantiated assertions of the gentleman; they are merely his affirmations, which I shall content myself in denying the truth and correctness of: Now, Sir, you have assertion against assertion; and as my word is as good as the gentleman's, and equal weight is due to it, his charges stand for nothing.

However, sir, the gentleman continues to proceed, and alledges, "all our plans are formed in caucus, all settled in conclave"—that "John Randolph was driven off by this back stairs influence"—"that lately, for the purpose of electing a successor to Mr. Jefferson, Congress had created themselves into an electoral college, for the purpose of choosing the new President, and he fears the same will be repeated." Mr. Speaker, I do not think with the gentleman about Mr. Randolph's defection from the democratic party—it did not grow out of what he called "back stairs influence;" but it was from

his disappointment of a foreign mission--this soured his waspish temper, and whetted all his petulencies. I admire Mr. R's talents as much as any man; but I admire his temper as little as any one. He is like a comet, brilliant and eccentric, calculated not to do any good to any system; yet, perhaps capable of injuring the best. I hope he is an honest politician, and I believe he is so, as far as a man, guided by passion and prejudices can be. He is at best nothing more than a political watch-dog, as apt to bark at his friend as at his foe--and often too, barking, when there exists no danger, except in the imaginary fears of his own irritable nerves--Like the boy in the fable, he so often cried *wolf*, that even if he were to tell the truth hereafter, he would not be believed! But I trust we have honest and wakeful centinels enough without his feeble frame being exposed to the danger and inclemency of the democratic out-posts.

One word, sir, about *caucuses* and the *electoral college*. Government itself, Mr. Speaker, is nothing more than a necessary evil--so are *caucuses*--they are necessary to concentrate the focus of party, and bring us united into the field against our adversaries, like an invulnerable Grecian phalanx.--We have amicably agreed upon our best man or measure, among ourselves, where our adversaries cannot intermix with us to perplex or confuse; and while we remain true, we can never be defeated. I have never seen any ill consequences result from the late congressional nomination of Mr. Madison, nor do I expect any in future. Sir, in a tour to the eastward, about that time, I made a philosophic visit to the celebrated Thomas Paine, in our conversation he observed on this subject "that the people must get their information respecting who was the most fit man for president, from somebody, they could not all personally know the candidates, and who was more able, and more to be depended on for that information and recommendation than their own representatives to the general government." I look upon this reasoning to be conclusive. The people were still left at liberty to vote for whom they pleased--there was no compulsion in the business. Next the gentleman asks, "Why is this administration connected with all the last--why approving in advance what may be

done." Because, sir, it is to be hoped, the present administration will be guided by the same wise policy which distinguished the proceeding. After a fresh charge upon Mr. Jefferson, he says "the people will not agree to war," even if necessary, unless something very flagrant is again committed against them," that "they are in a manner dead to an honorable sensibility." He reiterates the old charge, "that the embargo has helped to demoralize the nation." These appear, Mr. Speaker, to be unguarded expressions; the gentleman cannot think so badly of his countrymen, and I shall take no advantage of him.

We have, sir, been told, that the tribute exacted by the British in their late orders, was nothing, altho' the gentlemen say we have compared it with the anti-revolutionary duty on teas. Mr. Speaker, it is ten thousand times worse—then we were a colony, it was bad enough, God knows, *then*! But they might have thought that they had some right over us—*now* we are an independent sovereign nation, and they cannot even dream of having any claim over us. Sir, I am afraid they never will give up their foolish notions, of colonisation. They cannot think patiently of this country, which their folly and wickedness has deprived them of for ever. America, like Cordelia, sir, withdrew from the mad household of her father. Ireland, a fair and lovely orphan, adopted into the family, has been most basely and treacherously dealt by—Goneril and Regan, England, and Scotland still remain; while the old crazy *Lear*, led by some *mad Tom* or eyeless *Glouster*, is brought to the brink of destruction; and will ere long, feed and fatten "the crows and coughs that wing the mid way air."—But, so long as George the third exists—so long as the British government cannot forget that we were once her colonies, we shall be insulted by her arbitrary disposition to taxation; though warned by the prophetic spirit of *Edmund Burke*, though ridiculed for their pitiful and contemptible system of revenue, against us—"for" said he "so trifling an article as tea, in the eyes of a philosopher, so contemptible a sum as three pence per pound, in the eyes of a financier, have shook the pillars of the commercial empire."

I feel sorry to find, Mr. Speaker, that after another sweeping invective against Mr. Jefferson, his administration, and "divers other matters and things, appendant and appertinent thereto, or in any manner of way belonging or appertaining, or meant, mentioned and intended so to be," the hon. gentleman concludes.

Mr. Speaker. If I had not detained this house unusually long, I would here make a brief recapitulation of the most prominent features of the objections and arguments I have had the honor of offering to this house and descanting upon: But, as it now is, I will, after a few *particular remarks*, bring my observations to a period. The gent. from Frederick has told us, when speaking of these resolutions, that "the poisoned chalice may return back to our own lips." That he should be struck with this prophetic opinion does not surprise me, when, at the very time he makes it, he is swallowing down the bitter draught of wormwood and rue, which we are pouring into his mouth!—Little did he think this would be his condition, when last session, he was acting so bold and adventurous a part; when, like some modern Zantippe, in the habilaments of manhood, he abused and even bearded the Senate, the hoary Socrates of the state. Alas! he had inhaled too much of the inebriating and delusive *nitrous oxyd gas* of federal hallucination. He believed that he neither spoke, acted or thought as do men made of common clay! But what is he *now*?—He is but "the residuary shadow, left by the transient sunshine of fortune, to commemorate the imbecility and short-lived brilliance of precarious greatness." Is this the flaming patriot, who so lately, 'scorched us in his meridian?' Is this the rash and aspiring youth to whom the synod of federalism so lately committed the stolen chariot of the day? No wonder his ardent impetuosity should have hurried him out of the milky way—No wonder he should have dashed against a star* of the first magnitude in the ormanent of democracy, should have set their world on fire and confirmed all their hopes! When even the Apollo of this modern Pheaton gave him not the salutary advice

* There, I presume, the gentleman meant General SMITH. Rep.

of old "*in media tutissimus ibis*"—No, sir, mediocrity his party never thought of!—& this *fiery* gentleman had said, in the last legislature, that he "hated the pitiful thing called *moderation*." How is it now with him? He has ceased to act the very tragic character he began with; and is, at this session induced to play the chief personage in the miserable entertainment or farce of *Fielding*, called "*Tumble down Dick, or Phaton in the suds*."—*Heu rascia mens hominum fortuna!*—What a pity it is that he could not have anticipated this catastrophe when he was riding, rough-shod, through this House, on his embargo resolutions! But, sir, I suspect, should it ever again so happen, that the present minority should gain the ascendancy, they will be more cautious in bringing forward a string of resolutions—or to use a sea-phrase—they will *claw-off*!

A few words more, and I have done:

Mr. *Speaker*. I did not intend to have said one word on these resolutions; and had I consulted my own feelings and inclination, I should have been altogether silent. But I bethought me that the very liberal, respectable, numerous and enlightened portion of the citizens of this state who have elected me to the seat which I now occupy here, would expect me to say something on these great national questions, which induced me to come forward; and if I have either improved or pleased any of this numerous audience, I have done as much as I intended—and it will be peculiarly gratifying to me think, that the FAIR † portion of this auditory have not had the *ennui* during my very lengthy discussion.

Now, sir, I shall give my hearty vote for these resolutions. I should have preferred other phraseology in many parts of them—but the ligaments, the muscles, the large and governing members, are as they should be. Indeed *now* I shall not consent to a solitary alteration. I approve the measures of the late administration, and I have full confidence in the wisdom of the present. And that the ruler of the universe may protect and bless our common country is the most ardent prayer of my soul.

† Pointing to a large and brilliant assemblage of Ladies, who this evening attended in the lobby, hear the debates.



REFERENCES.

G. Battle on the heights of Abraham gained by the British 13th September 1759.

1. Landing Place 13 Sept^r between 4 & 8 A.M.
2. British Line of Battle formed at 8 A.M.
3. Covering Detachments.
4. French Line of Battle.
5. Irregulars Posted in flying parties.

N.B. The FRENCH ARMY began the charge at 9 A.M. advancing briskly, and in good order; but a part of their line began to fire too soon, and it immediately spread throughout the whole. They then began to waver, but kept advancing with a scattered fire till they were within one hundred yards of the British, when the British line moved up regularly, with a steady fire, and when within 20 or 30 yards of closing, gave a general fire, upon which a total rout of the French ensued.

H. Works of the BRITISH ARMY on the heights of Abraham after the Victory on the 13th till the capitulation on the 18th

6. Redoubts to cover the encampment.
7. D^o to oppose the sallies from the Town.
8. D^o to command the road to the Hospital and Bridge of the River St. Charles.
9. D^o begun but not finished before Capitulation.
10. D^o to cover the communication to the Landing Place.

- a. Cape Diamond.
- b. la Glaciere
- c. St. Louis
- d. St. Ursula
- e. St. John
- f. la Potasse
- g. Redoubts of Cape Diamond.
- h. Royal Redoubts & Barracks.
- i. Dauphiness Red^{ts} & Barracks.
- k. St. Louis
- l. St. John
- m. Palace

Bastion.

Gate.

VIEW of QUEBEC from Point LEVI.



Plan of QUEBEC and ADJACENT COUNTRY Shewing

The principal ENCAMPMENTS & WORKS of the

BRITISH & FRENCH ARMIES during the SEIGE

by GENERAL WOLFE in 1759.

Redrawn from the M.S.S. Map of Capt. Le Chevalier by

JOHN MELISH.

List of the British Army.

15. Amhersts.
28. Bragg's.
35. Ottways.
43. Kennedys.
47. Lussilles. 48. Webbs.
58. Anstruthers.
78. Highlanders.
60. Royal Americans.
- Light Infantry.
- Artillery.
- Louisburg Grenadiers.
- Marines.

REFERENCES.

A. Encampments on the Point of Orleans.

1. Landing Places
2. Magazine.
3. Hospital.
4. Redoubts.
5. Lines.
6. Battery of 2 Guns.

B. Encampments on Point Lévis.

1. Church made an hospital.
2. Magazine.
3. Landing Places
4. Redoubts and Lines.
5. Battery.

C. Works at and near Point des Peres.

1. Battery of 6-32 p^o & 5-13 in Mortars.
2. " of 3-13 & 2-10 in Sea Mortars
3. " of 6-24 pounders.
4. " of 8-12 pounders.
5. Redoubts guarded by Marines.
6. Entrenched Camp.
7. Cannonments to secure the Road.
8. Rangers covering Road to Point Lévis.

D. Encampments near the Falls of Montmorency.

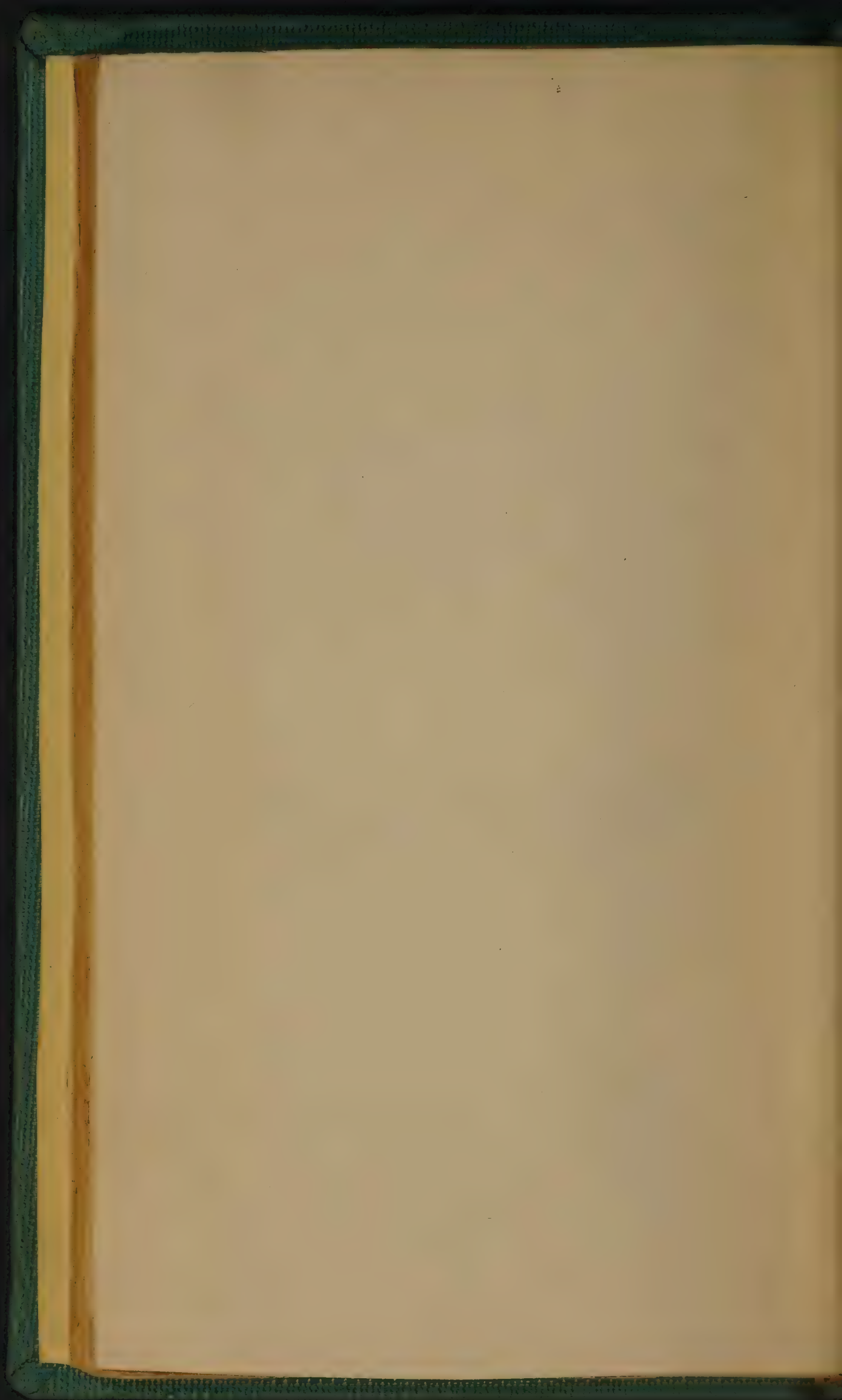
1. Redoubts.
2. Lines.
3. Fortified Houses.
4. Posts for quarter guards.
5. Batteries.
6. Landing Place.

E. Works of the French along the coasts of Beauport.

F. Descent of the British upon the Works of Beauport.

1. Landing Place.
2. Two Ketches run aground at high Water.
3. Redoubts abandoned by the French.
4. Passage of two Brigades across the ford at low water.

* The different parts of this MAP were surveyed as follows. The side of the Falls of Montmorency, the Point of Orleans & the south side of the River St. Lawrence, by Capt. Hubby, Engineer in Ordinary. The Coasts of Beauport, from the River St. Charles to the Falls of Montmorency, by Capt. Holland, of the Royal Americans, Aid^r Engineer. The ground between the River St. Lawrence & the River St. Charles, by Lieu^t. DeBarres, of the Royal Americans, Aid^r Engineer.





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